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                              "We're more than just hosts"  
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## **Abstract**

The Sicilian island of Lampedusa finds itself increasingly referred in media and academic accounts as exclusively a place for migration and tourism. As Appadurai explains, these demographic flows are part and parcel of globalisation, changing space, place and time conditions on the island. Following Ortner's definition of agency, this thesis shows that Lampedusans have a type of agency in both migration and tourism that is particular to the island. Applying Phillips' concept of "spatialisation of power" to the case, I argue on the basis of ethnographic data gathered in the autumn of 2011 that Lampedusans have five particular strategies managing tourism flows, rendering them at times masters of their own island, but that concerning migration they are at other times constrained by the global political circumstances. Expanding on Ogletree's bifurcation of hospitality, I coin the terms minimal and extended hospitality. Minimal hospitality is the offering of hospitality by the host, while extended hospitality is the reciprocation of hospitality by the guest, for instance by sharing cultural knowledge. I argue that Lampedusans' inclination and wish is to practice the latter, but that the former is the only one allowed by the international legal limitations in place on Lampedusa. Finally, I use Foucault's broad definition of government to analyse how Lampedusans govern both themselves and others, thereby altering the island's outlook.

## **Keywords**

Italy, Lampedusa, migration, tourism, power spatialisation, minimal hospitality

## **Lampedusa: Tourism and Migration**

“We're more than just hosts”

The Sicilian island of Lampedusa became in 2011 the subject of media attention due to large numbers of migrants arriving on its shores by boat, having departed from either Tunisia or Libya. Lampedusa has become synonymous with migrants. The second major attraction of Lampedusa, as a tourist destination with pristine beaches, receives less media attention. However, Lampedusans expend considerable effort to counter the flood of images of illegal migration, in favour of images of Lampedusa as a tourist destination. Lampedusa is often portrayed as a mere location, a pinprick on the map. Its reduction to only a destination, both for migrants and for tourists, confirms its subject position to outsiders.

This thesis maintains on the other hand that the island is more than a reception centre for migrants and tourists, as I show by means of ethnographic data that Lampedusans have very diverse means to manage space, place and time. In this introduction, I start by briefly sketching the research setting of Lampedusa as part of the larger provincial area of Sicily, after which I delve into the theoretical issues central to this thesis, namely agency and governmentality, globalisation and imagination, power spatialisation, and hospitality. In the ethnographic section, I introduce the cyclical movements of tourism in the section *Temporarily on Lampedusa: Tourism*, explain how the tourist season is subject to planning by villagers through elucidation of five cases: Lampedusan business hours, the role of the central road Via Roma, Lampedusans' choices concerning public holidays, institutionalised weekly schedules, and the large scale music festival O'SCIÀ. In the second part, *Global Flows and Migration*, I explain which

limitations are in place concerning migration, due to many international players: governments, transgovernmental institutions such as the United Nations and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs). These limitations govern Lampedusan interactions with the migratory phenomenon, as I show through the analysis of Lampedusan responses to two impactful events, and through the economic benefits Lampedusans gain from working in the migration industry. In the third and final section, *Presented Hospitality and Migration*, I show how the presentation of Lampedusan hospitality contributes to their assertion of agency.

## **Lampedusa**

Lampedusa belongs to Italy's autonomous region Sicily, together with its neighbouring smaller island Linosa and the uninhabited Lampione. In May 2012, it had 5,725 inhabitants and suffrage of 5,129. The three islands lie in the far south of the Mediterranean Sea, in the strait of Sicily, and are dependent on outside connections by plane and ship for almost all its supplies. Lampedusa is situated very close to Tunisia: 113 km east of the coastal town Mahdia, closer even than the Sicilian coast, located at 176 km distance. However, culturally speaking Lampedusa is part of the Sicilian cultural area. Popular images that readily come to mind when thinking about Sicily are of slick and cunning *mafiosi*, sun-weathered farmers, tasty fish dishes and large, noisy, extended families with bossy mothers. Or rather: mothers-in-law. Literature on Sicily classically stresses the role of specific social relations for the island's functioning and character: clientelism, patronage and *mafiosi* (cf. Boissevain 1966, Blok 1972, Davis 1975, Douglass 1975, Galt 1974, Gellner and Waterbury 1977, White 1980); honour and shame (cf. Bell 1979, Gilmore 1987, Peristiany 1965, Pitt-Rivers 1963); Catholicism, its implicit hierarchies and the centrality of religious powers to village-life (cf. Banfield 1958, Parisi 2002, Schneider and Schneider 1976, Sabetti 2002,). These factors are also of influence on Lampedusa: family and loyalty relations define the corporate and political structures on the island; Catholicism takes a central and matter-of-course position in the island's organisation; and a large emphasis is placed on gender differences and family hierarchies.

A large part of Lampedusa's local history-telling is based on myth. Throughout the centuries, but in any case already before the fifteenth century, multiple attempts have been done to make Lampedusa fit for habitation. However, deforestation over the course of a few centuries to provide wood for the passing ships looking for provisions made the island subject to harsh and whipping winds. Next to this, the island has always suffered from harassing pirates, leading to mass exoduses every time a raid had taken place (Fantoli 1955:29). Today, Lampedusans live with a vivid conscience of its remote location and its eventful history of colonisation, occupation and migration.

In more recent history, Sicily was introduced to the phenomenon of migration. In the 1950s and 1960s, Sicilians and other southern Italians felt forced to migrate for economic motives to northern Europe, Argentina and the United States, forming communities and 'Little Italies' wherever they went (Schneider and Goode 1994). When economic perspectives in Italy turned rosier in the 1980s, Italian migrants returned home and, more importantly in the context of Lampedusa, Italy became a prime destination for North African economic migrants (Chambers 2008). Today, migrants use Italy both as destination and as transit country through both legal and illegal migration, and they search political asylum and an economic future in France or Germany.

Tourism is also a recent introduction. Popular belief on Lampedusa has it that the island only became a holiday destination after the 1986 incident with two scud missiles:

the Libyan marine had missed the island by a few kilometres in an attempt to retaliate earlier American bombings of Tripoli and Benghazi. The tourists that suddenly arrived from the late 1980s onwards are claimed to have discovered the pristine Lampedusan beaches thanks to Gaddafi's aggressive but failed act.

The island has always received passersby, pirates, crusaders, tradesmen, slaves and refugees, who would continue their journey or linger on the island. The people arriving currently on the island, however, can be readily identified as arriving in waves: tourists are mainly expected in the months between July and September, while migrants arrive in all months except the period from November to January and are forced to journey onwards once the authorities remove them. Appreciative accounts, such as the film "Soltanto il Mare" (Yimer 2011), stress Lampedusa's *accoglienza* (welcome, hospitality) as something to be lauded and applauded. Hospitality is central to both tourism (Boissevain 1996) and migration (Friese 2010), nevertheless, as soon as I set foot on Lampedusa, I immediately saw that this hospitality is only one aspect of the story. Multiple Lampedusans told me that they are "more than just hosts".

### **Agency and Governmentality**

According to Ortner (2006), being born in a particular *habitus* (Bourdieu 2002) allows the individual a certain amount of agency. Bourdieu's *habitus* is the "durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisation" (2002:78), manifesting "itself in practice, in action and movement, in the way one orients oneself in relation to specific social fields" (Bottomley 2010:123). Ortner's definition of agency goes beyond Bourdieu's idea of practice: agency is both the pursuit of projects, and the exercise of or against power (Ortner 2006:139). This situation in power constellations makes Ortner's definition exceedingly useful to analyse the Lampedusan context, with local actors' agency situated between the flows of human and media movement specified below. Especially in the second section of the ethnography discussing outside influences on the island, Lampedusan agency is clearly presented as situated in the larger local and global context.

All Lampedusan actors have agency, despite their constant presentation as languid victims of the system, both in media and academic account (see for instance La Sicilia 14/08/2011 and Di Maso 2011). The factors involved in the discussion of the replication of *habitus* in the case of Lampedusa depend on complex interactions such as international relations and national and European policy-making. I approach Lampedusan agency as resulting from and responsive to the factors inherent in the situational constellations of power on and beyond the island.

Ortner's approach of agency differs from Foucault's (1979) concept "governmentality", as this is "[t]he ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power" (Foucault 1979:20). Foucault's polymorphic concept goes beyond the apparent power structures of sovereignty, also including discipline. The concept refers to a more inclusive significance of "government", which takes individuals' tendency towards social control into account. The mutuality inherent in this type of governance is not covered by Ortner's agency, which focuses more on the actions and reactions resulting from power constellations.

Governmentality helps to explain a number of instances in the Lampedusan context, for example when municipality, café holders and neighbours exercise decisions in the regulation of permits for cafés concerning business hours and live music performance, as I explain in the section *Temporarily on Lampedusa: Tourism*. Another example is when a

protest by people working in the migration industry is silenced in response to other Lampedusans' reactions, as explained in the section *Presented Hospitality and Migration*.

### **Globalisation and Imagination**

Globalisation, referring to increasing interconnectedness of the world, underlines dynamics of change and interaction that have increasingly gathered momentum in the past decades (Inda and Rosaldo 2008). These dynamics carry far-reaching consequences for theorising about space, place and time in the current world, as the definition of these domains is problematised by a view of the world in constant flux without distinct boundaries (Appadurai 2008:46). Following Castells, I draw a distinction between space and place, referring to space as a "space of flows" (Castells 2000:442), consisting of communicatory flows which are territorially connected only to the nodes communication. Place, on the contrary, is "a locale whose form, function and meaning are self-contained within the boundaries of physical contiguity" (Castells 2000:453). I add to Castells' definition of space consisting of communicatory flows the flows of human movement which have such a pervasive impact on Lampedusa: those of migration and tourism. This is an elaboration of one of Appadurai's (1996) concept ethnoscaapes, "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live" (Appadurai 1996:33), amongst whom tourists and migrants. Space then consists of the human and communicatory flows that construct scapes, the consequences of which are played out on places.

Lampedusa, because of its situation between Europe and Africa, as a consequence of and feature inherent to globalisation, is a place where the high mobility of ethnoscaapes comes to show. But besides being a reception area, Lampedusa interacts with the people that arrive: it is not only the site or place where these flows happen to pass, but also the space in which this happens. Thereby, the island's place or location enables it to mediate these flows through both space and time, as I show in the ethnographic section.

Migration and tourism are thus flows of globalisation (Phillips 1998), which are informed by ideas of the world. This "imagination" (Appadurai 2008) is shaped by the combined different scapes Appadurai distinguishes, namely imagined worlds are "the multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe" (Appadurai 1996:33). Migrants "locate themselves in different geographies simultaneously" (Inda and Rosaldo 2008:19), while tourists before their trip already "begin to imagine themselves on holiday" through increasing media flows (Mooney and Evans 2007:6). This cartography or social map making does not only in the mind define what other spaces look like (Cresswell 1996). Imagination, through hopes and dreams, spurs action and therewith physically defines places.

In the Lampedusan case, this pertains to all actors involved. Just as migrants else hope for a better future (see for instance Hsu 2000, Pagden 2003, Peters 2001), so North African migrants imagine Lampedusa to be the jumping board to Europe's riches. This imagination seduces potential migrants to cross the Mediterranean to Lampedusa, thereby changing these places' outlooks. For tourists the same seduction is at work: their image of the island as a pristine holiday destination makes them go to the island. However, this image is currently informed by constant media outcries that the island is flooded by drowning Africans, which makes fewer tourists visit the island, while Lampedusans in their tourism marketing consciously try to counter this image. Lampedusans' imagination makes them see their island as distinctly different from what they call "fuori", outside their island, and thus the Other. Similarly, the images that Lampedusans have of the people arriving on the island, whether they are tourists, migrants, aid workers, soldiers and

authority figures, or journalists, depend not only on the factual information, but also on imagination.

### **Power Spatialisation**

Lampedusans influence tourism and migration, as I explain in the first and third ethnographic section. This influence is possible because they live and work on the island, while visitors are temporary and are replaced by others. I use the concept “power spatialisation” (Phillips 1990) to explain how this works.

Robben (1989), drawing parallels between domestic spaces and societal domains in Brazil, talks about the “material obligations of a man to his family” (Robben 1989:572). Phillips (1990) shows that the differential occupation of domestic and societal spaces by women and men asserts their power over these places: as men gather income outside the house, women assert their power over the household through their presence around the house. In research about a coastal Ecuadorean village, Phillips draws a contrast between women’s relations to the household as “stable and dependable”, and their men’s “precarious connections” to *casas* [houses] in the “spatialisation of power relations” (Phillips 1998:45). A parallel contrast can be drawn between Lampedusan residents and the visitors. Although tourists and migrants contribute to the island’s name and image in media and scholarly accounts and bring the island income, similar to Ecuadorean men’s contributions to their household by providing the main income, the Lampedusan residents have an unparalleled stable relationship with the island by their spatial and temporal occupation, similar to the Ecuadorean women’s power location in the house through their stable and dependable relations with the house. Locals’ power over the definition of tourism and migration is delineated by their very interaction with these phenomena. Similar to the women in Phillips’ research are locals “key to the [re]production of a particular way of life” (Phillips 1998:45).

This is not to say that research underlining gender differences in Ecuadorean households can be unconditionally copied onto Lampedusan society. Economic and social roles ensuing from gender differences cannot be transmitted one on one to economic and social roles as they are on Lampedusa and the Other in the Lampedusan context takes up a different position than the Other in the Ecuadorean context. However, exactly the differences between the relationships that Lampedusans have with tourists and migrants are similar to the differences that exist in the relationships between Ecuadorean men and women. These differences define people’s relationships with locality, and for the purpose of this analysis, the parallel relations of the actors with locality are transposable.

### **Hospitality**

Hospitality has historically been seen as a “religious and ethical duty”, a prescription that the Jewish, Christian and Muslim traditions share (Friese and Mezzadra 2007:2). More recently, however, voices have emerged claiming that academic excavation of hospitality as a realm of research is necessary, as attested by the new magazine *Hospitality and Society* launched in 2011. “Narrative hospitality” (Lynch *et al.* 2011:13), or the representation of hospitality, introduces different images of hospitality to a wide audience, including Lampedusans themselves, aspiring migrants and tourists and those who stay at home. However, it also defines hospitality, something I explain in the section *Temporarily on Lampedusa: Tourism*.

Besides analysing narrative hospitality, I draw a distinction between minimal and extended hospitality. Next to Rosello (2001), who maintains that “hospitality is a form of gift” (2001:viii), Ogletree says that

To offer hospitality to a stranger is to welcome something new, unfamiliar, and unknown into our life-world. On the one hand, hospitality requires a recognition of the stranger’s vulnerability in an alien social world. (...) On the other hand, hospitality designates occasions of potential discovery which can open up our narrow, provincial worlds (Ogletree 2003:2).

Based on Ogletree’s definition of hospitality, I coin minimal hospitality as the answering of the stranger’s vulnerability by providing shelter, food, safety. Extended hospitality, on the contrary, is the possibility for the stranger to rebalance the unequal power relationship referred to by Ogletree (2003:4), by showing the host another world, the stranger’s world, of which the stranger enjoys an unsurpassed authority as expert. After all, “Isn’t a guest always implicitly an equal, who could, presumably, reciprocate at a later date, in a different space, at a different time?” (Rosello 2001:9)

I hold that the Lampedusan case warrants little more than minimal hospitality, as Lampedusa is responsive to the calls of regulation and organisation of the ever-growing streams of movement of this world.

Concerning migration, O’Gorman (2010) has remarked that some forms of hospitality have disappeared as a result of “the rise of movement on a scale that far outstrips what can or should be provided for free” (Durie 2011:92). In the third ethnographic section, *Global Flows and Migration*, I explain how hospitality on Lampedusa has therefore been limited and relegated to the institutional sphere, disallowing reciprocity of Lampedusan minimal hospitality through the existing unequal power relations between host and guest.

Concerning tourism, a parallel can be drawn: tourists arrive on Lampedusa, where locals offer their minimal hospitality by providing food, shelter, and amusement. Extended hospitality would entail reciprocity by tourists, for instance through accounts of how life in their hometowns is. Extended hospitality is not warranted by the island’s infrastructure and organisation, mainly because the tourist season is limited to a few months, in which the island is packed with visitors and hosts cannot invest the amount of time needed for reciprocity. In the second place, the level of education on the island is low, meaning that knowledge of the Other necessary to imagine his or her life is not sufficient to receive any offer of reciprocation. There is, however, one instance at which an attempt at extended hospitality is made: the music festival O’SCIÀ. I explain more about this in the section *Temporarily on Lampedusa: Tourism*.

## **Research Methodology**

My ethnographic research took place between August and December 2011. The fieldwork made use of a number of methods, amongst which participant observation, note-taking, news analysis, semi-structured interviews, and informal conversations. Additionally, I worked for an extended period of time in one of Lampedusa’s largest grand cafés, Bar dell’Amicizia. This allowed the establishment of rapport with my research participants.

The migration issue continues was and continues to be harrowing for Lampedusa. I felt nonetheless that the incongruities inherent in life on Lampedusa are more poignantly

highlighted by an analysis of the visceral positions tourism and migration assume in the lives of the islanders. A consequence of this reserved approach is that opinions of migrants and tourists are not expressed here. I talked to none of the migrants and only to a few tourists. Interesting perspectives on migrant experiences are offered by Gatti (2007), De Pasquale and Arena (2011) and Sanfilippo and Scialoja (2010).

## 1. Temporarily on Lampedusa: Tourism

Tourists come to Lampedusa in the summer months July, August and September, guaranteeing busy preparation and anticipation during the months preceding their arrival. They arrive mainly by airplane, with direct flights connecting the island to Palermo, Catania, Rome and Milano in summer, and to Palermo only in winter. These flights are renegotiated almost every year, causing much uncertainty for tourists and entrepreneurs alike. The number of flights arriving in this period varies: in July 2011, 175 landed on Lampedusa, in August 198 flights, in September 175, and in October 100 flights (ENAC 2011). Other tourists arrive by boat: an irregular daily ferry takes over eight hours overnight to connect the island to the Sicilian mainland, while a daily express service takes 4 hours. Annually, some 50,000 tourists visit the island (Friese 2008:32).

The tourists come to Lampedusa from all over Italy, with only a few international tourists. There are no tourist connections to Tunisia or Libya. The group best represented consists of Sicilians; next to that come people from large northern Italian cities. An important group of tourists consists of former residents, who have moved to Lampedusan colonies, for instance, in Rimini and Rome, and who return for their summer holidays to visit family or to work in the tourism sector and often own a house. Most people spend one week, sometimes two weeks on the island, and come in small groups: couples and groups of friends. Lampedusans regret the decline in families visiting the island, as they are known to spend more and stay longer, but families think it has become too expensive to come to the island. Visitors have often been on Lampedusa before, and one of the first questions is: “Is this the first time you’re here?”

Despite the reductionism inherent in talking about tourism as an “industry” (MacCannell 2011:3), I continue to refer to the sector as such as Lampedusans themselves talk about the sector as an industry. A notion of tourism as an industry assumes that tourists are “the golden hordes” (Turner 1975), bringing no other qualities than leisure time and disposable wages, something that was expressed often by Lampedusans.

Tourism has become the focus of anthropological scrutiny since the mid-1960s (Nash and Smith 1991). Lampedusa’s tourists have attracted far less scholarly and media attention than Lampedusa’s migrants. There are some exceptions, for instance the recently developed *Master Plan for the Sustainable Development of the Pelagie Islands* (MSO 2008), co-developed by the University of Venice, and otherwise sideways reference to the deteriorating effect tourism has on Lampedusa’s wildlife (see for instance Gramentz 1986).

The transition from fishing to tourism has had a profound impact on the economic and social fabric of Lampedusa, and on the natural reserves of the island. Islanders refer to the fishing period as a finished era, although fishing is still the island’s second major industry after tourism, which accounts for 70% of the island’s income (L’Altra Agrigento 28/06/2011). The economic circumstances that induced Lampedusa to change its subsistence strategies are very real. The fish stocks of the Mediterranean Sea have for several decades been declining rapidly (or, as Lampedusans explain it, “the sea is empty”), the Tunisian fishers active in the same waters sell their catches for far more competitive prices on the same markets, and fewer sons of the new generations were by the 1980s interested in pursuing a laborious career as fisherman.

Lampedusa's sudden introduction to tourism changed the working conditions for Lampedusans. Currently, men work on boats to make tours with tourists, while women on Lampedusa continue to manage the real estate (Callari Galli and Harrison 1979:235), by renting out houses and rooms to guests and cleaning property. Other services (such as scooter and car rental, consumption in restaurants and cafés) are also delivered.

Below, I explain how Lampedusans gain control of the tourism that floods their island as they govern the use of time, space and place on the island. I will make special reference to a number of elements by first giving three examples of rhythms of consuming behaviour, namely the business hours of shops and cafes, what happens in the evenings on the central street Via Roma and how Lampedusans distinguish holidays from working days. Fourthly, I discuss the weekly planning of tourism hospitality, and finally the music festival O'SCIÀ.

### **1. Business Hours**

Lampedusans show their agency and express power spatialisation by making time divisions according to daily rhythms. They define the right moment for specific activities and not for others, as they do specifically with the business hours of locales. These times are fixed, and little changes between winter and summer.

For instance, the grand café Bar dell'Amicizia opens at 5.30 in the morning and closes at 12.30 at night. The clientele is a clearly defined public, as fishermen have their preferred coffee place where they meet friends and family. Besides this fixed clientele, in summer, there are mainly tourists. Shops open at eight in the morning and close again at eight in the evening. Siesta is for shops approximately between noon and four o'clock in the afternoon, while restaurants close after lunch, between two and seven o'clock. Bar dell'Amicizia did not apply a siesta, but there was very little clientele during this time. When asked about the siesta, a Lampedusan shopkeeper commented thus: "Well, all the tourists are on the beach anyway."

These business hours of the tourist season can only in some ways be contrasted with those in the winter season. In total, there are far fewer clients, so most restaurants, bars and shops close altogether between October and May. The winter business hours differ little: the grand café closes an hour earlier, and is closed on Tuesdays. The other large bar in the village closes on Wednesdays in winter. Extended siestas also take place in winter after lunch, and public life is also completely suspended for a number of hours.

The fact that the winter and summer season differ so little indicates that Lampedusans change little in their daily rhythm on account of visiting tourists. Of course, siestas also form part of the daily rhythm that for example visiting northern Italian tourists may have, but as my research participant Giuseppina explained, the summer heat of the Sicilian climate requires a more extended period inside, secluded with the family, while in the north often a lunch at work only takes an hour, and public life continues. This could be explained using the concept spatialisation of power relations (Phillips 1990): while tourists are the people who economically contribute most to the island, imagined to bring in money as golden hordes (Turner 1975), their presence on the island changes daily rhythms less than one would expect. Lampedusans' relations with their island, for instance in their routine frequenting of particular cafés, is much more decisive for the outlook of the island, here expressed in business hours. This shows Lampedusan agency.

## 2. Via Roma

In the evening, festivities take place on Via Roma, the central village street. Throughout summer, it is a pedestrian area and cafés spill their terraces on the streets. Small podia are erected and bands play pop songs. According to Alessandro, the chair of one of the tourism cooperatives of the island, these facilities and the entertainment give a place to the tourists' needs in the evening, as an important difference between Italian and northern European tourists is their consuming behaviour: while northern Europeans are more likely to occupy themselves in the evening, Italians go outdoors, meet each other, sit down and consume loud music. The pull that Via Roma exerts on tourists and locals alike is tremendous, as almost everybody in the village makes an evening *passaggiata* (stroll) and buys a drink or a dessert on Via Roma. Correspondingly, as soon as the music stops, the street empties and café holders can start cleaning up. The commercial and social consequences of this gathering on Via Roma are significant and manifest, but more importantly, with this recurring pattern Lampedusans create predictability for all agents involved.

Besides the logic explained above concerning power spatialisation (Phillips 1990), which functions similarly with music entertainment as with cafés' business hours, governmentality (Foucault 1979) is a useful concept to explain this case. This works as follows. The municipality decides on permits for amplified music, but the influence of the formal government is limited, as there is little surveillance. This means that other mechanisms assume this position, such as governmentality, the "tactics, strategies, techniques, programmes, dreams and aspirations of those authorities that shape beliefs and the conduct of population" (Nettleton 1991:9). Therefore, ultimately, the decisions of café holders, neighbours and cleaning personnel are what decide at what time the music stops.

The effect of Lampedusan governmentality is not only the effective management of time; also the management of place is aided by it. The outlook of Via Roma is determined through Lampedusan governing methods.

## 3. Holidays

A final aspect of the daily time divisions that Lampedusans engage in is the distinction they make between work days and holidays. Seeing that most labourers on Lampedusa are active in the tourism sector or in daily food provisions, closing the shop or service for a day has a profound impact on the island's liveability. Throughout the summer season, even on Sundays all small shops are open, as well as the restaurants. Nevertheless, on special days such as the celebration of patron saint Santissima Madonna di Porto Salvo on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September, all Lampedusans close their shops and attend the festivities. The message to tourists is a clear one, in which they are not explicitly invited. It includes direct warnings, such as how a tourist leaflet formulates it: "In these days all commercial operators close (also the shops and practically all the restaurants are closed, therefore make sure that you can survive!)" (Pro-LoCo Lampedusa 2011:2).

Normal life on Lampedusa finds its continuation, one could almost say despite tourists, something I see as a reassertion of Lampedusan agency. Additionally, through the route of the procession for the Madonna on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September, the road is claimed by Lampedusans, disallowing traffic and passersby to cross the trajectory. This exclusion of tourists is taken literally by Lampedusans: Rosa, a young professional born on Lampedusa but working in Palermo outside of the tourist season, told me that traffic officers walking in the front of the procession were there specifically to divert tourists who would otherwise cross the procession with their scooters. This spatial occupation inverts the relationships

with locality, as throughout the tourist season, normally the largest group present in the streets consists of tourists who find their way between their residences, catering and the beaches. Through this spatialised assertion, Lampedusan connections to their place are affirmed. Additionally, the communication about these events as a space of media flows relegates tourists to the margins, demarcating the event as typically Lampedusan.

#### 4. Weeks

A special way of the island's tourist business is to make bookings and reservations per week only. Although the boat is supposed to moor in daily, and throughout summer there are multiple flights a day, every Saturday the island's airport witnesses a simultaneous exodus and entrance of tourists. Tourists stay for one week or two weeks, but Saturday is the only day on which they can enter or vacate a room, apartment or guesthouse. A consequence is that all families on the island renting out houses, and mainly the women of these families, are busy all Saturday changing sheets and transporting guests to the airport and the harbour. As Anna, who works the other days on the military base, explained to me:

I can't work on Saturdays, because I have to help my mother clean the two holiday homes we have. I also earn a little bit by cleaning for my aunt, so on Saturday I do six houses. Outside of the summer, I only work at the military base, but in the summer I work as a cleaner.

By defining the Saturday as travelling day, Lampedusans have to worry about the direct logistics of the tourists on that day only and it allows Lampedusans to continue their other business outside of these days. It has some additional benefits, as Gabriele, my colleague in the café explained to me: "I always go to the Isola dei Conigli [the island's most beautiful beach and tourist pull] on Saturdays, because that is when there are no tourists."

Besides the benefits, the reservation of Saturday for tourists' arrivals and departures per week has drawbacks as well, as it creates quite some disorder on the airport and in the streets. A new Lampedusan initiative in April 2012 negotiated with airlines to have special flights from Milan (Malpensa) and Bologna on Fridays instead of Saturdays to "avoid the commotion of the weekend" (Agenzia di Viaggi 2012). This idea is still under negotiation, and for the time being Lampedusans regulate the coming and going of tourists through this weekly mechanism.

An effect of the Saturday arrangement on tourists is that they have to accommodate the islanders by taking flights on Saturdays. The assertion of supremacy speaking from this system is, besides a sign of agency, governmentality and spatialised power a sign of both time management and management of place or territory, with consequences for the outlook of for example the beach and the airport on these days. Finally, it is indicative of the mechanisms of hospitality at work on Lampedusa. The efficiency of the weekly system reduces the interactions beyond the professional scope between Lampedusans and visiting tourists. Most families who accommodate tourists in their house or in guesthouses attempt to make a further connection with their guests, by providing additional services or arranging discounts on offers from friends or family members. The interaction between tourists and locals, however, rarely extends beyond these provisions for the pleasures of the visitor, explicitly disallowing the tourist to give input in Lampedusan affairs. This can be read as an expression of minimal hospitality, offering the visitor sustenance and shelter, but not giving opportunity to reciprocate this gift through extended hospitality. Regulations and conventions such as the standard to define Saturday as travelling day limit

tourists' possibility to get into deeper contact with Lampedusans and interact with them on a basis of mutuality, beyond unidirectional provision by islanders.

The last four examples, on business hours, Via Roma, holidays and weekly schedules, have shown that Lampedusans have ways to manage their time and to make tourists abide by their rules. I have interpreted these as examples of Lampedusan agency (Ortner 2006), showing that Lampedusan governmentality (Foucault 1979) enables them to lessen tourists' influence on the island. Examples are the regulations that are in place when determining business hours for cafés and restaurants, and the appointments and decisions Lampedusans make in the organisation of music stands on Via Roma in the evening. Lampedusans assert their dominance through spatialisation (Phillips 1990), for instance through the trajectory of the procession for the Madonna on September 22<sup>nd</sup>, where they assert dominance by subverting existing power relations and assume the place in disfavour of tourists. Their measurement of changing guests' reservations on Saturdays only has as one of the most effects that no extended hospitality can be practiced. I now turn to another event, O'SCIÀ, which has circumstances and consequences of its own.

### 5. The music festival O'SCIÀ

A major annual phenomenon where Lampedusans exert their power over their own territory is the musical *manifestazione* O'SCIÀ (pronounce: "oh shah"). Its effect on the calendar is a direct one, as Bruno, former mayor of Lampedusa, explained to me, since it prolongs the tourism season with another week. The *manifestazione* takes place in the final week of September, a week in which ordinarily not as many tourists would be present because of the abating weather and the recommencement of school year. Yet because of the *manifestazione*, many tourists sojourn on the island during this week. The *manifestazione* lasts 5 evenings, and is a large benefit concert to commemorate migration, during which some sixty artists from all over Italy perform for free on the beach of the Guitgia, southeast of the village. The event is unique in Italy, as it is the only free event with so many famous artists, and the name of organiser Claudio Baglioni is inextricably bound up with the island and O'SCIÀ. Catarina explains: "(...) Baglioni (...) [organised] this thing (...) for a 'thank you' (...) to the islanders for [helping] the illegal immigrants. You get it? Because we host these illegal immigrants, (...) so to thank us they have [organised] this help."

Lampedusans told me they found it mostly important to attract tourists to the island, as they earn from the presence of tourists as "golden hordes" (Turner 1975). Tourists come to the island, because they get a holiday on a beautiful island with free music, many famous artists, "and thus," as Catarina explained, "you rent out, you earn money, because [O'SCIÀ] is an expediency for the islander". However, the organisation hits a completely different tone in its marketing: the *manifestazione* is organised to "reiterate the reception of refugees, the gratitude to the rescuers and solidarity with the islanders", as the website of the organising foundation reads (Fondazione O'SCIÀ 2012), and slogans of O'SCIÀ (for instance "Every breath is a human") emphasise common humanity.

O'SCIÀ's marketing machine accentuates Lampedusan hospitality, thereby countering tourists' imagination of the place. These communicatory marketing flows are what Castells (2000) called the "spaces of flows"; the websites, live television screening, mailing lists, poster campaigns and other media are used to link the place that O'SCIÀ occupies on Lampedusa explicitly to migration. One would fear that stressing migrants' presence on the island is counterproductive for attracting tourists. However, the increased

media attention surrounding migration actually does not make migrants more visible, as, following Friese (2008:11), “[t]he more visible the invisibles are in the media, the more invisible they become”. References by artists like Massimo Ranieri concerning “the brave men and women who drowned in the Mediterranean” or images of large migrant boats at open sea on the screen behind the stage do not contribute to humanise the refugees to tourists. This explains how the effect of an explicitly migration-related event like O’SCIÀ can be positive on tourism.

The manifestazione could be read as what I earlier coined extended hospitality by migrants: migrants would return in some way the gift that Lampedusans had bestowed upon them by welcoming them on their island. However, the fact that Baglioni organises the event with funds of the European Community, leaving migrants out of the equation and rather making them invisible through the extensive media attention of the event, makes it impossible to analyse O’SCIÀ as an example of extended hospitality.

In this section I have delved into five examples of interactions between Lampedusans and tourists in which Lampedusans demonstrate their capacity of managing tourism on the island.

Most convincingly this is demonstrated by the manners in which Lampedusans appropriate their island through business hours, noise control on public roads, public holidays, use of weekly schedules and large events such as the music manifestazione O’SCIÀ. The first three indicate mainly how Lampedusans manage their time but also tourist times, through governmentality (Foucault 1979) and the assertion of spatial occupation (Phillips 1990), relegating tourists to the margins through media flows (Castells 2001, Appadurai 2008). Fourthly, weekly schedules enable Lampedusans to manage time and place by directing all tourists to means of transport on Saturdays, thereby freeing for instance the beach from their presence. These limits, however, have minimal hospitality as a consequence.

Finally, the music festival O’SCIÀ facilitates the management of space, place and time to Lampedusans as it applies media and communicatory flows (Appadurai 2008, Castells 2001) to counter tourists’ imagination (Appadurai 2008) of the island as an inhospitable place. It turns out to be impossible to analyse O’SCIÀ as a case of extended hospitality by migrants, as the main actors of the event are not migrants, but Lampedusans, Claudio Baglioni (an artist residing in Rome), and institutions like the European Community. Lampedusa’s relationship with tourists is mediated by a number of factors, but their agency (Ortner 2006) to decide on pivotal issues remains evident.

In the next section I discuss Lampedusa’s migratory phenomenon. Having concluded, following Friese (2008), that increased visibility in the media only contributes to the obscuration of existing invisibles, I will continue to investigate what relationship exists between Lampedusans and these invisible migrants.

## 2. Global Flows and Migration

The following two sections treat the migratory phenomenon on Lampedusa. As the phenomenon involves a complex interaction of international regulations and the human risks involved in this discussion render people rather volatile and unpredictable, it is impossible to state that the Lampedusan population is in total control of the way migration is handled on the island. The fact alone that migrants arrive on the island is a sign of the opposite. I discuss this and resulting consequences in the present section, *Global Flows and Migration*, after first introducing the Lampedusan migratory phenomenon. There are, however, a number of factors on which Lampedusans exert a considerable amount of influence, something which they communicate very clearly. I discuss this in the following section, *Presented Hospitality and Migration*.

### Lampedusa and Migration

Lampedusa has at least for the past twenty years occasionally received migrants from North Africa. Only in the late 1990s has the island become a European frontier for “irregular” migration and asylum seekers (Friese 2008:1).

The people arriving on Lampedusa come from two countries, Tunisia and Libya, and as multiple workers from the Lampedusan reception centre told me, there are substantial differences between the two groups. The Tunisian nationals are often young males seeking economic fortune in Europe. For this reason, their chances of acquiring a European residence permit are slim. The people arriving through Libya, however, are often families, including toddlers, elderly people and pregnant women. They come as refugees from sub-Saharan Africa. They have the largest chance of obtaining a residence permit. As a result of these varying immigration reasons, Italian authorities treat these groups differently.

Before 2006, the Lampedusan reception centre was a CPT, a *Centro di Permanenza Temporanea* (Centre for Temporary Stay), located behind the island’s airport. Since 2006, the centre is located in the valley *Imbriacola* and it has become a CPSA, a *Centro di Primo Soccorso e Accoglienza* (Centre for First Aid and Welcome). The new structure has more sleeping places (804), and migrants can stay longer (up to 48 hours) to be identified and receive a health and sanitary check. Often they stay longer, but ideally, after this time, they are flown or transported by boat to Sicily, from which they are moved on to one of the thirteen Italian CIEs (*Centro di Identificazione e Espulsione*, Centre for Identification and Expulsion) on the mainland.

The years 2008 and 2011 saw the largest number of illegal migrants entering Europe via Lampedusa. In 2008, a total of 36,951 migrants arrived (Fortress Europe 2009), topped by 2011, when before August 1, already 51,881 migrants had crossed the Mediterranean and landed on Lampedusa (La Sicilia 05/08/2011). As a result of the Arab Spring in North Africa, started by the dissolution of Ben Ali’s regime in Tunisia on the 14<sup>th</sup> of January 2011, many people fled Tunisia in January, February and March of 2011. This explains the high number of 18,672 people who arrived on Lampedusa in the first 3 months of 2011, against the 573 who arrived in the same period in 2012 (MI 2012).

In August 2011, the Italian parliament passed a law allowing authorities to detain visa applicants up to eighteen months in CIEs (Di Maso 2011). A consequence of this measure was that centres on mainland Italy were flooded. This blocked the possibilities of evacuating Lampedusa, which had as a consequence that migrants were sent back directly to their home country. These *espulsioni* or *respingimenti* entail that migrants’ boats were

intercepted at open sea and were forced to turn back. They have attracted much indignation from humanitarian organisations (AI 2008, Zilioli 2011).

The Centro on Lampedusa is, contrary to other Centri in Italy, restricted in access. This is contrary to the Geneva Convention (ICRC 1949), but only rarely do Lampedusans wonder about this. A consequence is that I could not get in touch with any of the migrants at Lampedusa, but I stopped wondering after two weeks how this works. However, certain groups remain critical about this situation, such as human rights activists (AI 2008) and journalists. Fabrizio Gatti published an article in 2005 in the weekly magazine *L'Espresso* (Gatti 2005), based on his undercover stay in the CPT, and he wrote on the inhumane conditions in the CPT, resulting from overcrowding and mismanagement. As Friese comments (2008:11), the report “caused an immense scandal, Ministers flew in and the island found itself again at the center of media attention”. This “immense scandal” is interesting, as it is indicative of the interest the island has in a positive presentation: press releases about the inhospitable circumstances in the Centro reflect on Lampedusa’s image. The commotion to counter negative images can be read as an attempt of the island to present its hospitable side.

Lampedusans call migrants *migranti* (“migrants”), *clandestini* (“clandestines”), *profughi* (“refugees”) and *extracomunitari* (“those from outside the [European] Community”). The terminology used in this thesis reflects the terms Lampedusans themselves use, despite Noury’s comment (Stockmans 2011) that the word “clandestini” reduces a group of people to a stereotype connected to their means of travelling.

Another place where one can witness this reductionism is in media accounts. Attention is paid to the harrowing stories of a dramatic boat travel of several days at open sea without food and water, only mentioning the number of arrivals and the death toll of each voyage, as crudely put this increases their news value. Little attention is paid to who is actually making the trip, with which intentions and stories, and what they left behind. Here is not the place to discuss these issues of dehumanisation, but they carry repercussions for the image that exists about the relationship between the migratory phenomenon and Lampedusa: this dehumanisation contributes to the idea of Lampedusa as an inhospitable place. As many of them told me, Lampedusans fear that this image is also shared by potential tourists, which makes it logical that an article as the ones published by Gatti (2005, but also 2011) cause panic in the Lampedusan tourism industry.

The number of people on any boat varies, frequently carrying only a dozen, with a maximum of 450 people. Their vessels are often not seaworthy, as they are former coastal fishing boats or rubber motorboats and are not fit for the long trip, the amount of people on board and the weather conditions. According to Mario, head of the Polizia stationed at Lampedusa, the trip from the Tunisian coast takes ten hours in ideal weather conditions, while the trip from Libya takes fourteen to fifteen hours. However, in most cases, the weather is not ideal, the boats do not have compasses, the human traffickers have no experience on the open sea, and since the travellers have already paid for the trip upon leaving, there is little consideration for life loss. Estimations are that one in eighteen boats does not reach the Lampedusan shore (Groenendijk 2012), and the boats that do reach the harbour often carry dead bodies, especially if they departed from Libya.

This section analyses three instances illustrating Lampedusa’s dependence on larger geopolitical constellations. Making use of Ortner’s definition of agency as both the pursuit of projects and the exercise of or against power (Ortner 2006:139), I show through these instances that Lampedusan interaction with the migratory phenomenon is full of

paradoxes, and that the islanders do not meekly accept the consequences forced upon them by the larger geopolitical constellations. Appadurai's concept imagination (2008) and Foucault's idea on how governmentality works (1979) are invoked to analyse how both individual and group dynamics function on Lampedusa with reference to these larger geopolitical constellations.

Firstly I discuss the expectations that Lampedusans have from (inter)national actors. Secondly, I recount two incidents, namely a series of roadblock by Tunisian migrants and the fire in the Centro on September 20, 2011. Finally, I discuss the mental map that Lampedusans make of the migrants arriving on their island, and the repercussions these maps carry.

## 1. International Involvement

The European border watchdog Frontex coordinates Hermes, the 2011 mission on Lampedusa, which monitors the Mediterranean Sea to avoid unnecessary loss of life. Migrant vessels are signalled, after which the *Guardia Costiera* or the *Guardia di Finanza* approaches it to verify its identity. Depending on the state of the carrier, the *Guardia* accompanies the boat to the harbour or takes the people on board of their ship. The boat is left behind, or attached to the side of the authority's boat. All boats are sequestered upon arrival, and supposed to be destroyed (Frontex 2011). Result of this sequestration and the bureaucratic hassle surrounding it are the famous boat graveyards of Lampedusa, eagerly photographed by tourists.

Many organisations are present on Lampedusa. Connected to Progetto Praesidium are UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), the Order of Malta, the Italian Red Cross, Médecins sans Frontières (MSF), International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and Save the Children (Sanfilippo and Scialoja 2010:17). Others are Amnesty International, ARCI and Askavusa. The presence of these officials on Lampedusa changes the village's outlook, because they rent apartments for a number of years, and are recognisable by their uniforms and company cars.

An often heard grievance of Lampedusans concerns international affairs. They realise that the travel for most Tunisians is in vain because of *respingimenti* ("expulsions"). They wonder why Italy does not make more efficient deals with the Tunisian government, avoiding the costs, loss of life and suffering inherent in the *viaggi di speranza* ("travels of hope") across the Mediterranean. Catarina explains with constricted voice:

We welcome them. But it's not that we don't want clandestini. Poor things. In fact, in fact, really, we, the Lampedusans, many of us are angry with the state. Because poor things, those arrive alive; but those who die in the sea that we don't even know of. You know how many are dead! [...] You know how much the state spends to take care of them? I'm not saying how many thousands [of Euros] are behind this [...].

Although bilateral treaties have been signed in the past years between the Italian and Tunisian government in 2008 (Italy-Tunisia 2011) and the Italian and the Libyan government in 2003 and 2007 (Italy-Libya 2009), migration policies evidently depend on more than the cooperation of two nations. International treaties, European Union migration policies and sovereignty legislation of the separate countries involved determine whether and under which conditions nationals can travel across the Mediterranean Sea.

Some of the consequences of action by government, NGOs and organisations such as the UN entail increased restrictions, legislation and agreements about task divisions. For instance, on Lampedusa it was common knowledge that Lampedusan fishermen who in the spring of 2011 had attempted to rescue migrants from drowning have been impeded from doing so. The laws of the sea dictate that any person at sea in life threatening circumstances must be offered help. Or as Antonio, a fisherman commented: “At sea we’re all brothers”. However, Giovanni, officer of the *Guardia di Finanza*, explained that European legislature defines these people as assistants to human traffic, and they are therefore labelled smugglers.

Instances as these have as a consequence that the practice of hospitality earlier in place on Lampedusa is replaced by a form of minimal hospitality. Lampedusans become dependent on outside forces to offer hospitality to migrants, and contact between Lampedusans and migrants is reduced because of legal circumstances. This makes it more difficult for migrants to reciprocate extended hospitality to Lampedusans.

Lampedusans’ complaints concerning authorities’ involvement, however, show their investment in migrants arriving on the island. When Antonio explained that their connections with fellow seafarers prevail over legal restrictions, he explained that local rules are more important than institutional involvement, ensuring the spatialisation of power (Phillips 1990) through the assertion of local primacy. The repeated attempts to save drowning migrants and to warn coastal authorities when they signal boats are instances of agency as Ortner (2006) implied it: they search for ways in which to resist structures of power.

## **2. Incidents and Responses**

A number of incidents with migrants in the fieldwork period spawned very diverse responses by the inhabitants. I discuss how Lampedusans responded to the multiple road blocks by Tunisian migrants and the fire in the CPSA. How I interpret these incidents is as struggles over territory, as attempts to leave a mark on the island, and as signals of what Appadurai (2008) called imagination.

The road blocks by Tunisian migrants took place three times while I was on Lampedusa. The first time this happened, Tunisian inmates of the Centro had made a small gap in a corner of the high fence surrounding their sports pitch. While another group distracted the guards standing outside the structure, the gap was widened and a group of them exited the reception structure, after which many others followed. Every time this happened, they went to the wharf where they had arrived, the military pier Molo Favalaro where an initial medical check-up is done before migrants are transported to the CPSA. They decided to sit here, take a swim, hang around, have a talk with the relief workers that had come flocking to them, sing and protest. Their demands appeared to be that they refused to be transported directly back to Tunisia, but Lampedusans interpreted their acts as requests for access to the rest of the island beyond the Centro and for distraction from the heat and boredom.

Despite this being one of the few options the Tunisians had to get attention, the effect on Lampedusa was rather large. All traffic beyond the village had to pass this road block at some point, and every time the protests were the topic of the day. This is mainly the case, because Lampedusans had the feeling that the acts were infringements on their territorial sovereignty. Lampedusans made comments like the following: “What do they think they’re doing?” And: “Go do that in your own country.”

The other incident concerns the fire that was started on the 20<sup>th</sup> of September in the Centro. Three Tunisian men had set fire to a pile of foam mattresses, because they had heard from friends and other former inmates that they were going to be transported directly to Tunis by plane, instead of being brought to the Sicilian mainland as had been promised and as international agreements require. The result was that one third of the CPSA's structure burned down, that all residing migrants (around 1,500 people) spread over the island, that a supposedly toxic fume covered the village, that a few hundred former residents of the Centro had to spend the night on the sports field, guarded by police and with one toilet cubicle at their shared disposal. Another group was staying at the dead-end street at one of the village's gas pumps. When reflecting on this later, many Lampedusans said they could have predicted that the situation in the Centro would burst at some point, because there were almost twice as many people in the CPSA as the structure permits: almost 1,500 instead of the 804 places that the Centro formally has.

One woman, whose backyard borders the Centro, told me rather aggressively:

Unfortunately nobody died [because then the world would finally have seen what happens here]. The state is de *mafia* and the Lampedusans don't do anything about it. It's time for war, and the European Union should do more.

The next morning, groups of migrants were escorted back to the Centro to then later remove them from the island by boat. I witnessed one of the last groups. The agents were rather nervous, were fully armed, and drove the young men on with plastic shields and gummy clubs. They were both watched and edged on by a horde of Lampedusans, mostly men, who shouted things like: "Assholes!" And: "Go back to your own country!"

Later I learned that the group I had just watched passing by had spent the night at the gas station. They had been made to spend the entire morning in the Mediterranean sun, awaiting their escort to the Centro. They had made banners out of sheets, reading texts like: "Sorry Lampedusa" ("Scusa Lampedusa") And: "Freedom" and "Libertà", with a picture of chains drawn between the two words. And: "Do 27 country of the EU think about these numbers?!" ("Si pensa 27 paese del EU a questi N°?!")

The aftermath of the incident was rather grave: the *Guardia Costiera* labelled the harbour *non sicuro* (unsafe), which prevented further boats with *clandestini* from landing on Lampedusa. Instead, they were sent to Augusta, on Sicily. Protests by Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International and virtually all institutions active on the island exclaimed about the irresponsibility and the dangers for human lives of closing the harbour. Up to April 2012, the Centro has not been rebuilt. In March 2012, as a consequence of protests from the European Parliament, came the verdict that by October 2012, the Centro should again be operational with a maximum of 250 places. The direct occasion is the renewed migration stream from Tunisia and mainly Libya to Lampedusa, which picked up again in March 2012.

I use Appadurai's (2008) concept imagination and Ortner's (2006) definition of agency to interpret these incidents as struggles over territory and as attempts to leave a mark on the island.

Both the roadblocks by the Tunisians and the fire at the CPSA were challenges to the local order, by both parties: the *clandestini* refused to be shipped like pieces to their

home country and the Lampedusans disallowed their territory to be used for a political fight that is not theirs. Added to this comes the nuisance of all this to tourists, for whom the Lampedusans feel largely responsible: the observable intertwining of the tourist and the migrant season are highly inconvenient for the Lampedusans. The symbolic spatial separation of Lampedusan and migrant lives was gone for a few hours, which immediately led to clashes.

Imagination, according to Appadurai, allows a wider horizon. European policies to counter migration, for instance by sending Tunisian migrants back through *respingimenti* (“expulsions”), do not counter this imagination. Imagination, by inspiring action, also enlarges the horizon for those staying at home. Paul, a former refugee from Eritrea who now works for a humanitarian organisation and has made the trip across the Mediterranean himself, explained to me that from the Centro, people call home and will never tell their families that they will be sent back tomorrow: the people they leave behind see Europe in their imagination as the destination country, and coming back is equal to failing. That way, many illegal migrants disappear from the radar, both in Europe and in their home countries, but also *en route* between the two.

Vice versa, a similar logic applies. Lampedusans have become used to migrants as temporary residents with low visibility. Only *sbarchi* (arrivals) and their transport are visible when one goes out to look for them. This reality and its concomitant expectations are breached if the migrants become accidentally visible in exceptional occasions such as the Tunisian road blocks and the Centro’s fire. The cartography inherent in these expectations is governed by imagination: during the Tunisian road blocks and in the aftermath of the Centro’s fire, the existing power relationships were contested by the presence of migrants throughout the village.

Both instances are examples of the application of agency in the way Ortner (2006) understands it: they are negotiations of power to break out of the replicated structures. Tunisians and Lampedusans are subject to and replicate the relationships that they live in, with reference to one another, but these decisions and the responses they sparked have the opposite effect, as they rupture the dialectics of power between the two groups through spatial contestation.

### 3. Two Groups of Guests

The third example through which I illustrate Lampedusa’s dependence on larger geopolitical constellations is the categorisation of the people arriving on Lampedusa in two groups: Tunisians, and those arriving from Libya. I analyse this categorisation making use of Appadurai’s (2008) imagination, involve the distinction between minimal and extended hospitality and refer to Ortner’s (2006) understanding of agency.

There are only a few Lampedusans, such as Pasquale, who emphasise that they do not care who they are feeding. Pasquale told me that whoever needs help can come knocking on his door. However, most Lampedusans make a distinction, between Tunisians and those coming from Libya, which carries consequences not only for their visa prospective, but also for the regard in which they are held by Lampedusans.

Like most Lampedusans, Rosa, born on Lampedusa but working in Palermo, contrasts the Tunisians with the people coming via Libya, mostly from sub-Saharan Africa: “We have nothing to fear from those black black ones [*quelli neri neri*]. But these Tunisians, these from the Maghreb, they might be murderers.” She later explained that she

had meant they come from a different culture, and emphasised multiple times that Lampedusans are not racist. However, from the many comments in a similar vein by Lampedusans one is led to believe that experiences with Tunisians have turned Lampedusans cynical and generalist. For instance, Francesco, a Lampedusan fisherman, told me angrily that “they” are from a different race, that they are much more criminal, and that they only cost “us” money.

At that point, rumours about Tunisia had reached Lampedusa, according to which former president Ben Ali had opened all prison doors and allowed all prisoners to escape, incriminating all Tunisians as criminals or rapists. Giuseppe and Pietro, two agents on mission on Lampedusa for the *Guardia di Finanza*, told me what the biggest risks are of rescuing a boat of migrants on open sea. First of all, travellers’ infectious diseases are a big risk, for which you cannot wear protecting clothes as they would impede your mobility if you fall in the water. The people themselves are the next big risk: “We treat them as refugees, but they can be delinquents, terrorists. You drag somebody up [onto your own ship] and before you know it they put a knife in your back.” Imagination of the Tunisian Other as dangerous is important here, or as Rosello (2001) puts it: “The guest is not necessarily a threat but does contain incalculable and unknown futures” (Rosello 2001:12).

The fear about misdeeds these Tunisians did in their home countries is very real. Paola, working in a private home for handicapped people, angrily told me that Lampedusa is exasperated with the Tunisian men that are arriving, and that, if the Centro opens again, they are only willing to help women and children, and the men must be brought to another place. Finally, Giovanni works for LampedusaAccoglienza as a cleaner and logistics manager and reflects on the work he has had to do in the Centro. He says: “We bear everything, the employees, everything. Because that’s what’s being an employee. But everything has its limits, everything its limits.” He goes on to tell some specific examples of what he has had to undergo, and says that at times the Tunisians protested against their imprisonment on Lampedusa. For example, they stuffed the toilets with clothes, with towels and socks, and then would defecate on top of it and flush the toilet. The blockage would give the cleaners a massive cleaning job. On top of that, employees would get threatened, shouted at, called names. “In groups they become wolves. But [they should realise] they’re [our] guests.” Rosello’s analyses such abuse instead of gratefulness of hospitality by the guest as a form of resistance against the power relations inherent to hospitality (Rosello 2001:viii), meaning that the space searched by Tunisians within the power constellations of the particular host-guest relationship at Lampedusa are contestations of the status quo.

Despite migrants being forced upon the Lampedusans, the islanders develop different strategies to cope with this infringement of autonomy. I have exemplified in the present section that categorisation on the basis of a number of things is one of the manners in which Lampedusans give the migrants a place in their “imagined world” (Appadurai 2008). Their ideas of the Tunisian Other, which is criminalised and opposed to the Other travelling through Libya (as Rosa said, “those black black ones”), are informed by a number of factors. In the first place, public discourse (Foucault 1979), as rumours of Tunisian prison breaks are spread among the Lampedusan population and are connected in the social cartography to the Tunisian men arriving on their island. Secondly, imagination (Appadurai 2008), as it aids these rumours to settle in their consciousness. And finally people’s own experiences with Tunisians, which often confirm the rumours and imagination about them. This categorisation allows Lampedusans to distance themselves from the Others arriving, but also to get some grip on the Other through mental

mapmaking. Although Lampedusans have no direct say in who will arrive on the island, and Paola's comment that they will in future only accept women and children does not mean this will be the case, but this categorisation can be read as a coping strategy.

In this section, I have delved into some of the aspects of the Lampedusan migratory phenomenon on which Lampedusans exert little influence, but with which they do interact in a particular way.

In the first place, Lampedusans often refer to international treaties as a solution for the problems experienced both by them and by migrants, but at the same time, I analyse these treaties as hampering the possibility of extended hospitality. A second aspect pertains to Lampedusans' responses to unanticipated events, such as the roadblocks caused by protesting Tunisians and the Centro's fire and its aftermath. I interpret these reactions as contestations over territory, following Appadurai's (2008) concept of imagination. Tunisian acts can be explained in this light, as they envision Lampedusa as the gate to Europe, while Lampedusans see the visitors as transient and do not recognise their claim to locality as justified. Nevertheless, the events recounted here implied changing power relations with the locality (Phillips 1990), sparking both the Tunisian and Lampedusan responses as assertion over territory. In the third place, two groups of migrants are distinguished, namely Tunisians and those coming via Libya. I interpret this categorisation of the Other as a coping strategy by Lampedusans, informed by public discourse (Foucault 1979), imagination (Appadurai 2008) and experience.

All three instances are examples of Lampedusa's intricate relationship with migration: although the phenomenon is forced upon the islanders, they develop coping mechanisms and continue to assert their autonomy and spatialised power (Phillips 1990) through hope of external influence, aggressive responses and imagined categorisation.

### 3. Presented Hospitality and Migration

In the former section, I explained to which external conditions the Lampedusans are subject with regards to the migratory phenomenon. In this section, I will show through three points that a prime occupation of Lampedusans is to present themselves as hospitable with respect to migrants. This narrative hospitality (Lynch *et al* 2011:13) connects the Lampedusans to the migratory phenomenon in a positive way, carrying repercussions for the image Lampedusa holds in what Urry (1990) called the “tourists’ gaze”. This gives Lampedusans a financial incentive to display hospitality to migrants. This is not to say that Lampedusans do not feel inherently motivated to extend hospitality to migrants, as I will often refer to in the section below.

In the first place, I analyse the Lampedusan attitude towards hospitality for migrants, after which I explain what the “migrant economy” on Lampedusa entails, involving a protest held in October 2011 as a telling example. Finally, I discuss Lampedusans’ attempt to keep their humanity within this migrant economy.

#### 1. Showing Hospitality

Multiple analytical accounts emphasise Lampedusa’s hospitality in relation to migration (Andrijasevic 2006, Bonizzoni 2006, Friese 2008, Kitagawa 2011, Pugliese 2010). Almost every Lampedusan could and would recount that they gave clothes to the *clandestini*, that they bought cigarettes for them at the *tabaccaio*, that they cooked pasta for them (but that the *clandestini* had preferred rice), that they had let people shower in their house. On the other hand, Lampedusans do not always talk so positively about the aid they gave to migrants. They also refer to the relation between migration and tourism and the role they had expected the government to play. In this section, I discuss these three elements: narrative hospitality, migration and tourism, and government aid.

An important part of the hospitality story pertains to the ease with which people tell about the acts of hospitality they and their close ones performed. One aspect of this readiness lies in the media exposure to which the island has been subject throughout 2011. The migrants brought not only aid workers and officials but also journalists in their wake, towards whom the Lampedusans have ambiguous attitudes, as they allow their story to be spread, but inherent in this distribution lies negative publicity for the island as a holiday destination. People have their story ready for the many journalists, as media attention is highly focused and selective. Another aspect of the readiness to talk lies in the presentation of self (Goffman 1959) that brings out an image of the Lampedusan as hospitable, as welcoming, as human and helping. This self presentation makes it often difficult to penetrate what Berreman (2007:147) called the “back-region”. Such “narrative hospitality” (Lynch *et al* 2011:13) is confirmed not only for the management of outside relations, the stories settle the image equally much in Lampedusan public consciousness, making the Lampedusans more hospitable every time it is told.

Additional to the self-predicting effect of narrated hospitality, the social effect of extending hospitality pertains to how Rosello (2001) formulated: “I may be aware that I reinforce my identity as owner of the house when I invite someone in” (Rosello 2001:12). The introduction of power relationships to the host/guest relationship makes hospitality less a metaphor for morality more generally, as Ogletree (2003:37) would have it, it rather emphasises the inequality between hosts and guests, thereby confirming Lampedusan

ownership over the island. According to many Lampedusans, “any human being would have done this”, because, as Catarina told me:

We would all want to stay together [and not be forced away from our loved ones by circumstances]. Because we’re all human beings. It’s not the colour of our skin, Nora, that separates us, that divides us. It’s not true, we’re all children of God, and we’re all equal.

The island is time and again stressed to be hospitable, both by outside commentators and by insiders. Especially the affirmation of this observation by islanders is interesting, because of the connection with tourism explained next.

Secondly, explicit connection is often made by Lampedusans between the migratory phenomenon and the reduction in the amount of tourists arriving in 2011. For instance Paola says that:

Lampedusa has been stripped. To the core. In its entirety and of everything. [...] If another boat comes now who needs us? What can we still give them? [...] Lampedusa this year hasn’t earned anything. Nothing. But both at the commercial level of the hotels as those who work, those Lampedusans who rent out apartments, nothing of nothing. We don’t have anything anymore.

It needs to be noted that the connection of tourism and migration in Lampedusans’ imagination, aided by popular media such as the film *Terraferma* (Crialesi 2011), does not take the economic crisis that has hit Europe since 2008 into consideration. When asked, Lampedusans impatiently shrug, acknowledge that financially Europeans might have been better off before, and continue to talk about migration. In Lampedusans’ view, those few tourists that would otherwise have spent money on a holiday to Lampedusa, choose differently once they hear of Lampedusa as a migration island.

Alessandro, the chairman of one of the largest consortium representing hotel owners on the island, explained that by the time news reached the world on the migrants arriving in the spring of 2011, cancellations of reservations for the summer season came trickling in. In June, a decline of 70% of the bookings was calculated compared to the number of bookings in 2010 (Notizie Virgilio 09/07/2011). The publication of this number warned Lampedusans of the advancing summer season, and even when the streets were filled with tourists and they were personally busy working for tourists, people kept reiterating the number of 70% loss in relation to the migration issues. The media are scapegoats for spreading this number and other dehumanising stories about migration.

An example of Lampedusan agency in channelling imagery from the island to the outside world is brought by Maria, an activist and member of a Lampedusan cultural association. She told about the day after the Centro had been set on fire, and about the riots at the gas station. She recounted that she was filming the entire scene and told me that her camera had been hit from her hands by a Lampedusan, who had told her “We know who you are. Stop filming or we will find you.” Another journalist from Sky had been forced to stop filming as well, but images of the protest are readily available online. Awareness of the force of images is very much present on Lampedusa, but the best strategy to avoid painful images to find their way to the public has not been discovered yet. When the next day, newspaper headings read “Guerrilla explodes at Lampedusa. Hours of ‘everyone

against everyone’” (Giornale di Sicilia 22/09/2011), Lampedusans commented that it really had not been that bad, and that the media only report on what they think sells.

The third issue pertains to the Italian state. Paola, after discussing the relation between migrations and tourism, expressed her expectations from the national government:

Nobody [no European and Italian aid] came because there was an epidemic. Who have paid have been the Lampedusans. We have paid, all of us. Nobody has done anything for Lampedusa. The real aid never came; the Lampedusans have given the real aid.

As Paola specifies, people feel they gave a lot in the first months of 2011, but perhaps too much and in fact every year for the past years, and that they stand alone in their task. They are the vanguard of the European border, perform a very heavy job, and the job is extremely ungrateful. Lampedusans expect the Italian and European authorities to step in, and at least compensate the island for its expenses. Most Lampedusans want the Italian state to reimburse entrepreneurs working in tourism for the ‘lost season’. Their point is echoed by promises made by Italian and European officials, but the promises are never fulfilled. An example is the promise made by Prime Minister Berlusconi when he visited the island on March 30, 2012, to make a tax free zone of Lampedusa (Corriere della Sera 30/03/2011), but the initiative was never followed up.

The deeds Lampedusans expect from the government have to do with positive publicity. They prefer to earn their own living and not depend on state aid for an income. Therefore, I often heard that people would like the Italian government to start a large publicity campaign. The explicit linking of declining tourism figures with rising migration figures shows the Lampedusan train of thought: positive publicity would counter the imagination (Appadurai 2008) that tourists have of Lampedusa as a potential destination.

The three points treated here, namely the ease of talking about hospitality, the relationship between tourism and migration as it is understood by Lampedusans, and the expected government aid, are all indicators of the relationship of dependence that Lampedusans have with the presentation of hospitality.

In the first place, the narrative hospitality (Lynch *et al.* 2011:13) practiced on Lampedusa confirms the Lampedusan people as welcoming, something which settles in their public consciousness. It therefore has a spiralling effect: more people display their hospitality as they are stimulated by other people talking about it.

Secondly, the relationship between a decline in tourists and an increase in migrants is made very explicit by Lampedusans. Lampedusans hope to counter tourists’ imagination (Appadurai 2008) of the island. One consequence is that relationships with journalists are very sensitive. An apparent example of ignorance is the desperation inherent in the act of hitting Maria’s camera from her hand: although Lampedusans show agency (Ortner 2006) and are eager to present themselves as hospitable to migrants in order to communicate their hospitality to potential tourists, their acts to prevent negative imagery are not very efficient.

The final issue, concerning expected government aid, is connected to this: the role the government could play is in the centralised production of positive publicity or the support

for such a large-scale campaign that counters this imagination. However, Lampedusans feel disappointment towards the promises made earlier by the government.

In sum, Lampedusan narrative hospitality towards migrants is important in order to manage tourists' perception of Lampedusan hospitality. This is expressed through worries and complaints, but also through direct action.

## **2. Working in the Centro: A Secret Protest**

This subsection investigates a protest on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October, 2011 by employees of LampedusAccoglienza, the cooperation working in the Centro, responsible for cleaning, food provision, organising the transport of mattresses and sanitary bags, and providing basic legal assistance. Some 150 Lampedusans find economic sustenance from working in the "migration industry", as some Lampedusans critically call it. They are interpreters, lawyers, cooks and cleaners, and most of these people have a temporary contract. Only twenty-five of them have a permanent contract. They are expected to live on the island, and often they are natives to the island.

The protest by employees was clouded in secrecy, something I explain as a way for the workers of LampedusAccoglienza to obscure their direct relationship with the migration industry. As I explain below, these employees have been subject to the powerful pressure from other Lampedusans to do so for financial benefit, a mechanism which works similarly to Foucault's concept governmentality (1979). I also invoke Phillips' concept power spatialisation (1990) to explain this.

As explained in the previous section, a fire took place in the Centro on September 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011. After the Centro was closed, I spoke to a number of employees of LampedusAccoglienza, who all told me that they still had work to do every day in the Centro, catching up on the administrative delay from when the Centro was flooded with Tunisian migrants. Two weeks after the fire I spoke to Khadija, a Moroccan interpreter, who told me that the employees of LampedusAccoglienza had not been paid in the past months and that this created quite some tension. She hinted at the possibility of an upcoming protest, the tenure of which would be a demand of their pay, but also the reopening of the Centro.

On the one hand, such a protest would indicate mature working relations between employer and employees, in which employees can take the liberty to demand their rights. On the other hand, the employees had over the past weeks kept their head down in Lampedusan public life as they felt that their association with the Centro already made them vulnerable to becoming scapegoats for all the confusion created in the village.

I asked around whether more people had heard about an upcoming protest, and attitudes towards a potential protest were downright rejecting: "They should be ashamed if they would protest to get the Tunisians back." And: "After everything Lampedusa has been through? I don't think they dare to do that."

Eventually, the protest did take place, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October, 2011, in front of the Centro's gates, and it was attended by some fifty people, all working for LampedusAccoglienza. They demanded their salaries for past three months. One said: "Day after day we risk our lives to come to work here, and today we want to have an answer. We want answers to see our salary, [to see] which end our money met."

The interesting aspect of this is that I never heard about the protest while I was on Lampedusa, and only learned about it later when I saw a video recording. People of whom I later discovered that they had attended it, said then that it would probably not take place, while in fact it had already taken place. There seemed to be a general reluctance to confide to me and other outsiders the details or even the fact that there had been a protest, and, without becoming paranoid, this reluctance seemed coordinated. Khadija for instance later negated that there had been a protest: she said that people on Lampedusa are always full of talk, but “never do anything”. Also my neighbour, Pino, logistic manager in the Centro, told me that nothing had happened with the original plans. Paul, working for one of the humanitarian organisations and always present in the Centro, even denied explicitly that the protest had taken place because the people from LampedusaAccoglienza had chosen not to be candid and not to solicit Lampedusa’s retributions for sticking out their necks.

What this indicates to me is that the protest was more than a mere work incident between LampedusaAccoglienza and its employees. Lampedusa’s frustrations with the way the migration is managed are expressed through the employees’ acts as much as through other Lampedusans’ responses to them and through the employees’ secrecy about their protest. The sensitivity of the issues around the fire was played out on the employees’ decision to protest and not talk about this publicly.

The power spatialisation (Phillips 1990) at work here is interesting. Many Lampedusans earn money from the “migration industry”, but only in an indirect way. They let houses to officials, host conferences in their hotel lobbies and cater pizzas for stationed police agents. These indirect ways are made explicit through the contracts that the Italian state makes with restaurant and hotel owners, causing some envy amongst other entrepreneurs over their guaranteed revenue throughout the year (Friese 2008:11). The small group of 150 Lampedusans working directly in the Centro, however, earns their money solely from migration, and is therefore much more exposed to criticism of supporting a phenomenon that is held to destroy the other main income of the island, tourism. A protest would be a blatant expression of hospitality for money, but their power or liberty to act within their own territory is limited by their contested position in the social system on the island, bringing the ambiguous relationship of Lampedusa with migration to the fore.

I see this as a form of Foucault’s (1979) governmentality: the control exerted by Lampedusa’s tourism workers on the migration workers changes the openness with which they performed their protest. As the island is in a sense both dependent on and marred by migration, the sensitivity and secrecy surrounding the protest can be read as an avoidance of this paradox.

### **3. Migration Industry: Keeping Humanity**

A third issue indicating the importance for Lampedusa to maintain an image of hospitality towards migrants is Lampedusans’ attempt to maintain humanity in their work in the migration industry. This attempt at humanity is special, because it is paradoxical. Simply put, Lampedusans generally still see the disturbing aspects of migration, and often work in the Centro is seen as a necessary evil, despite the direct economic benefits that a certain number of Lampedusans gain from working in the hospitality industry. Catarina explained to me:

There were 150 Lampedusans [working in the Centro], but for those 150 Lampedusans who work, for this they say: “It gives work to the Lampedusans”,

and that's not true. Because we don't want work with which we exploit other people. Because these poor people.. We, Sicilians, know what it means to emigrate, Nora.

The relation with the Other is a very real one at Lampedusa, and identification with migrants happens often to Lampedusans, as they are confronted very often with this reality and have had similar experiences as a people in the twentieth century. Regularly, I was told stories of the pains involved in the travel between the two coasts, similar to how Catarina continued to formulate it:

[T]hese people [...] are travelling in these boats without help and without nothing. They are at sea for days and arrive here and when they strip them of their clothes, they tear their skin. Just imagine to have to sit down for three days with your legs like this [indicates her legs bent up to her chin], and you have to piss and shit on your seat, and then the commanders who throw everybody in the water, who scratch the people, [they arrive] with their faces completely [scratched] open. You know how many people died in the water? [...] It's something that makes me so angry!

Catarina then started to cry. Catarina's recently return migrated daughter Giuseppina added to this: "To move to a place voluntarily is already one thing, but if you do it because you're forced, that's a different thing. These people are forced."

I interpret the imagination (Appadurai 2008) necessary to relate to the Other is an attempt at what I earlier called extended hospitality: the extended form of hosting by showing an interest in the Other, imagining their provenance and relating to them in a more substantial way. This attempt at extended hospitality, however, is not supported by the limits inherent in the system at Lampedusa, as migrants are meant to only stay for a few days and are shielded from contact with the islanders.

An example of this extended hospitality and imagination is brought by Davide, who worked in the Centro for two periods of a few months each, and who started studying the Arab language because he became curious to what the migrants had to say. I contend that the realisation of a common humanity, inherent in this gesture of curiosity is rather typical for Lampedusa. Without being numbed by the mere numbers that appear in the newspapers of new arrivals, and despite the incompatibility of Lampedusans' lives with the clandestini's lives, a dialogue between the two can emerge.

What makes the apparent juxtaposition of humanity versus economic gain from the migration industry paradoxical is that it stands in contrast to the general tenure on the island towards migration, which holds that a rise in migrant presence on the island causes a decline in tourism earnings. At the same time, this paradox is played out in people's choices such as Davide's choice to study Arabic: despite the legal limitations that the Lampedusan hospitality framework implies, Lampedusans try their best to show humanity and to engage with migrants whenever possible, thereby attempting to offer extended hospitality. For this attempt at extended hospitality, imagination (Appadurai 2008) does its work, as the life worlds of Lampedusans and migrants differ substantially and need to be bridged through imagination.

In this section I have delved into three aspects through which Lampedusans demonstrate that the presentation of hospitality to migrants is important to them.

In the first place, I explained how Lampedusans apply their own definition of hospitality, which entails a readiness to talk about their experiences as hosts, of which they pride themselves in their presentation of self (Goffman 1959), which is a form of narrative hospitality (Lynch *et al* 2011:13). Another aspect of their definition of hospitality is the explicit relationship they determine between a rise in migrants and a decline in tourists on the island, resulting in a tense relationship with journalists and display of agency (Ortner 2006) in these relationships. Related to this is the Lampedusan expectation for government in the generation of positive publicity for the island, to alter the tourists' gaze (Urry 1990).

Secondly, I examined the secrecy surrounding a protest by employees of Lampedusa Accoglienza as cases of power spatialisation (Phillips 1990) and governmentality (Foucault 1979): although the employees gather economic benefits from the "migration economy", they are limited by other Lampedusans in the articulation of their labour rights as it is important to Lampedusans to demonstrate their hospitality.

In the third place, I argued that hospitality on Lampedusa is not simply a calculation of the role of media, but that genuine compassion and interest with arriving migrants, for which imagination (Appadurai 2008) is required, is restricted by the Lampedusan hospitality system, limiting Lampedusans to minimal hospitality.

I have showed how Lampedusans connect declining numbers of tourists to rising numbers of migrants, it is important for them to apply narrative hospitality, not forgetting that often they also have motives other than economic ones to show hospitality.

## Conclusion

Lampedusans complain that the world only sees the island as synonymous with illegal migration and paradoxically at the same time with a week's summer holiday. Mainstream media's representations in news accounts of the island as waiting ground, ready for reception, are taken for granted by the academic world. One consequence is a definition of Lampedusa by its visitors, a reduction both in terms of time and place.

Contrary to popular and scholarly representation of the island as a place victim to the global demographic movements that tourism and migration entail, I demonstrate that Lampedusans are, because of their relationship to the island, at certain points master of these flows of people, but at others are subject to larger geopolitical constellations at work. I do this making use of Phillips concept of power spatialisation (Phillips 1990), Appadurai's concept imagination (Appadurai 2008), Ortner's interpretation of agency (Ortner 2006), Foucault's idea of governmentality (1979) and my own bifurcation of minimal and extended hospitality.

As Phillips (1990) reveals in her account on Ecuadorean women, the spatialisation of power relations is more important for definitions of power than mere numbers of income. Lampedusans enact, through their presence and time investment on the island, their power over the island. Ortner's definition of agency (Ortner 2006:139) takes existing power relations into account, and sees agency both as the pursuit of projects and as power exercise and resistance.

Appadurai (2008) explained that the flows exerting their power on contemporary politics are responsive to ideas of imaginative worlds: both tourists and migrants have an image of their destination and Lampedusans have an image of those people arriving on the island. All these images influence how people act. Foucault's (1979) concept governmentality allows the investigation of existing relations between Lampedusans and the mutual regulation resulting from them.

Making use of Ogletree's (2003:2) distinction between different types of hospitality, I coin minimal hospitality versus extended hospitality. Minimal hospitality entails the care offered to a stranger upon reception, for instance through food, shelter and safety or entertainment. Yet extended hospitality is the possibility for the stranger to reciprocate this offer, to return something to the host. As I explain in the cases of both Lampedusan migration and tourism, the circumstances allowing extended hospitality are not present.

Concerning tourism, I offer five illustrations of Lampedusans' agency (Ortner 2006). The first three, the determination of business hours, music permits on Via Roma, and public holidays, indicate how Lampedusans manage their own and tourists' times, through governmentality (Foucault 1979) and the assertion of spatial occupation (Phillips 1990). Fourthly, weekly schedules enable Lampedusans to manage time and place by directing all tourists to means of transport on Saturdays, thereby freeing for instance the beach from their presence, with minimal hospitality as a consequence. Finally, the music festival O'SCIÀ facilitates the management of space, place and time to Lampedusans as it applies media and communicatory flows (Appadurai 2008, Castells 2001) to counter tourists' imagination (Appadurai 2008) of the island as an inhospitable place.

In the second section, I analyse three cases of institutional constraints of the migratory phenomenon in place on Lampedusa to which the islanders develop coping

mechanisms and continue to assert their autonomy and spatialised power (Phillips 1990). In the first place, Lampedusans often refer to international treaties as a solution for their migration-related problems, but these treaties are simultaneously hampering extended hospitality. A second aspect pertains to Lampedusans' responses to unanticipated events, such as the protesting Tunisians' roadblocks and the Centro's fire. Following Appadurai's (2008) concept of imagination, I analyse the events as implying changing power relations with the locality (Phillips 1990), sparking both the Tunisian and Lampedusan responses as assertion over territory. In the third place, two groups of migrants are distinguished, namely Tunisian nationals and those coming via Libya. I interpret this categorisation of the Other as a coping strategy by Lampedusans, informed by public discourse (Foucault 1979), imagination (Appadurai 2008) and experience.

The third section goes into three features through which Lampedusans demonstrate the importance to them of a presentation of hospitality to migrants. In the first place, I explain how Lampedusans apply narrative hospitality (Lynch *et al* 2011:13), which entails a readiness to talk about their experiences as hosts, of which they pride themselves in their presentation of self (Goffman 1959). Lampedusans make an explicit relationship between growing migration and declining tourism on the island, resulting in a tense relationship with journalists and display of agency (Ortner 2006) in media affairs. Related to this is that Lampedusans expect the government to contribute to an altering of the tourists' gaze (Urry 1990) through positive publicity of the island. Secondly, I interpret LampedusAccoglienza employees' secret protest as a case of power spatialisation (Phillips 1990) and governmentality (Foucault 1979) because they are limited by fellow Lampedusans in the articulation of their labour rights. In the third place, genuine compassion and interest with arriving migrants, for which imagination (Appadurai 2008) is required, is restricted by the Lampedusan hospitality system, limiting Lampedusans to minimal hospitality.

In this thesis I have demonstrated that Lampedusans live with the constraints brought by both tourism and migration, but that they have multiple strategies to determine how far these phenomena influence their lives. As I showed by means of ethnographic data, these strategies are more effective in the case of tourism, but besides the institutional constraints governing Lampedusan migration, Lampedusan approaches specifically target the phenomenon's influence.

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## Summary

Many people at the Sicilian island Lampedusa complain that the outside world only knows the place as a migration destination for people from Tunisia and Libya and that this image repels tourists, who prefer to only see the white beaches and azure seas. These images of Lampedusa as tourist and migrant destination sites do not come out of nothing, as media and academic accounts stress these two aspects time and again. This thesis on the contrary shows that Lampedusa is more than just a host island: Lampedusans have, even within the two dominant phenomena migration and tourism, much to say about how these two streams of human movement pass the island and which role they are allowed to play.

Concerning tourism, there are many instances in which Lampedusans demonstrate they are not pawns of commercial interests, but rather active entrepreneurs who separate their private and commercial lives and make conscious choices between the two. They do so, when they decide not to change business hours of their cafés and supermarkets between winter and summer for tourists' convenience, when they limit music playing in the evenings on Via Roma to certain stages and certain hours and when they decide to celebrate the national holiday *Festa della Madonna di Porto Salvo* and close their shops, despite the possible profit they could make that day by opening their shop. They equally much display autonomy when they reject reservations for holiday homes and hotel rooms on days other than Saturdays, thereby allowing themselves to manage their own agendas and limit nuisance by tourist mobility to this day, and when they explicitly market the music festival O'SCIÀ as a commemoration of migration, thereby extending the tourist season in September with a week.

Concerning migration, Lampedusans often refer to international treaties as a solution for their migration-related problems, but these treaties limit direct contact with migrants and colour Lampedusan manners of hospitality. Lampedusans respond in a particular way to unanticipated events, and I explain how protesting Tunisians' roadblocks and the fire in the reception centre were received. Both events are attempts at territorial claims, by both Tunisians and Lampedusans. In the third place, Lampedusans discriminate between migrants by distinguishing Tunisians from those coming via Libya. This is possible because people develop images of other people, as everybody talks about them in this way and reality confirms these images. An effect of this distinction is that migration seems more manageable.

Clear instances of Lampedusan chieftom of their own island are visible when migration intersects with Lampedusan life. I list three instances exemplifying this point. Firstly, Lampedusans' definition of hospitality entails a readiness to talk about their experiences as hosts, of which they pride themselves, but at the same time they connect declining tourism to growing migration numbers, and expecta government help. Secondly, there is a special connection with migration because Lampedusans earn from the migrants as well: people profiting from the migration industry do not feel supported to protest openly about their insecure working conditions. And finally, all Lampedusans working in the industry strive hard to keep their humanity and are interested in temporary visitors, despite the restrictions imposed by authorities.

It shows that Lampedusans' depicting in the media and in academic accounts as victims who are stuck in their surroundings is not complete and rather flawed. This thesis demonstrates that they have many strategies to influence their interactions with both migrants and tourists.